

THE *Nation*

December 19, 1953

20¢

Arthur R. Main

McCarthy's \$300,000 Windfall

ROBERT E. LEE and the F.C.C.

EVERY
WEEK
SINCE
1865

The Freedom to See *Ephraim S. London*

Fighting Bob

William T. Evjue

A Review of the La Follette Biography

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Letters

Rejoinder by Dr. Bodde

Dear Sirs: Never before have I tried to answer any review made of a book with which I have been connected. Kenneth Rexroth, however, in the November 14 *Nation*, has written a review of Fung Yu-lan's two-volume "History of Chinese Philosophy" (translated by myself from the Chinese) which requires a rejoinder.

Among factual misstatements is Mr. Rexroth's assertion that Volume I of the Fung History was originally published by Veitch in Peking "shortly before the change in regime," by which, from the context, he unmistakably has in mind the Chinese Communist triumph of 1949. The actual date, clearly stated at the beginning of both volumes, is 1937, and the name of the publisher was Vetch, not Veitch. Mr. Rexroth elsewhere speaks of "Tantric and Syncretic Buddhism" with reference to the History, though neither term appears in that work. His concept of "classical," as applied to China, must be an elastic one, since it allows him to lump the Mohists and Legalists (fifth and second century B. C.) together with the early Neo-Confucians (ninth century A. D.) as "later philosophers of the Chinese classical period." These errors are in themselves of no great consequence, but they inevitably arouse speculation as to the care with which Mr. Rexroth read the work he is reviewing.

Much more fundamental is Mr. Rexroth's criticism of Fung Yu-lan as "a conservative in regard to the documents," from whom "you would never guess . . . that the authenticity of attribution, the admixture of later material, the very nature and meaning of some books, such as the Shi Ching, the I Ching, and the Tao Te Ching, have been questioned continuously almost since their first appearance in history." The reason why Dr. Fung devoted no critical discussion to the Shih Ching—not Shi Ching, as Mr. Rexroth spells it—is simply that this work can by no stretch of the imagination be regarded as a philosophical text, that it considerably antedates the rise of Chinese philosophical speculation, and that it was therefore not germane to Dr. Fung's subject. The same is not true, however, of the I Ching, and in Volume I of the History, pages 379-82, Mr. Rexroth will find a detailed discussion of

this work, in which its earlier divination corpus is clearly differentiated from its much later philosophical Appendices, and the traditional attribution of the latter to Confucius is unequivocally rejected.

In the case of the Tao Te Ching, similarly, Mr. Rexroth will find in Volume I, pages 170-72, a denial of the popular attribution of this work to an elder contemporary of Confucius, and an analysis of the much later biography of its alleged author, Lao Tzu, which shows clearly that this biography is a gross confusion of fact and legend. Other similar examples of Dr. Fung's critical approach to doubtful texts could readily be cited.

Apropos the Tao Te Ching, Mr. Rexroth himself maintains that "many, perhaps most of the authorities, . . . believe that the Tao Te Ching is a kind of psalter, a collection of mystical apothegms collected from all sorts of sources, some possibly Indian, and designed to be chanted in a community of monks." I challenge Mr. Rexroth to advance convincing evidence in support of either the first six words or the remainder of his statement. No organized monkhood, Taoist or Buddhist, existed in China until several centuries after the Tao Te Ching had been written.

Most serious of Mr. Rexroth's indictments, however, is his assertion that Fung Yu-lan "is *always* partisan" (Mr. Rexroth's emphasis), and that his works all "purport to trace through Chinese philosophy a sort of master tendency, culminating in Dr. Fung." Reading these and similarly phrased charges, one cannot but wonder whether they do not result from a confusion in Mr. Rexroth's mind between the Fung History, first published in Chinese in 1934 and translated by myself, and the Fung "Spirit of Chinese Philosophy," first published only ten years later and translated by E. R. Hughes. The former work is what its name implies: an inclusive and—within human limitations—a reasonably unpartisan history of its subject. The latter work, on the contrary, is one of a series of books, dating from 1939 on, in which Dr. Fung develops his own philosophical system. It therefore makes no pretense at being a systematic history of Chinese thought but is an admittedly selective account, laying stress on those particular elements from the past that

have influenced Dr. Fung in creating his own philosophy.

This suspicion as to a possible confusion between two different books is heightened by the manner in which Mr. Rexroth refers to certain Chinese texts as "the Lao Tse Book, the Chuang Tse Book, the Lieh Tse Book." This terminology is strikingly reminiscent of the way in which Mr. Hughes, though with greater exactitude in romanization, refers in his Spirit translation to "the *Lao Tzu Book*, the *Chuang Tzu Book*," and so on. In my own translation of the History, on the other hand, the same titles are invariably rendered more briefly as "the *Lao-tzu*, the *Chuang-tzu*," and so on. Similarly, Mr. Rexroth's term "Inner Light," used by him to describe Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism, is one that appears frequently in the Hughes translation, whereas it never once occurs in my translation of the History.

Mr. Rexroth really lets the cat out of his bag of critical judgment, however, when he praises Wiegner's "History of the Philosophical and Religious Opinions of China" as "best of all perhaps" of the alternatives to the "*always* partisan" Dr. Fung. Persons acquainted with the loose paraphrases of Chinese texts which, in this book by Wiegner, are intended to serve as a history of Chinese thought will agree with Mr. Rexroth, though for quite different reasons, that "nothing could be less like Dr. Fung." That the Fung History is open on various grounds to valid criticism this writer would be the last to deny. These grounds are not, however, those that Mr. Rexroth has singled out for his attention.

DERK BODDE,

Professor of Chinese,
University of Pennsylvania

Philadelphia

Mr. Rexroth Explains

Dear Sirs: Perhaps I should have made it a little clearer that I was trying to discuss all of Fung Yu-lan's work which has so far appeared in English, using the history which Derk Bodde translated as a base. I feel that Dr. Fung is important and has received too little attention from other than scholarly publications.

I was not, however, reviewing the other work. It is my opinion that the general tendency to interpret the history of Chinese philosophy in terms of his own is at least as characteristic of the two-volume history and the short history as it is of the "Spirit of Chinese Philosophy," which is, after all, also a history.

[Continued on page 556]

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

War of Succession

A hard-fought battle for control of the Republican Party is now under way. It began with Senator Taft's death, which created an opportunity for McCarthy to assert command of the strategic right wing of the party. But the fighting remained more or less under cover until quite recently, when persistent rumors that the President would not seek reelection brought it into full view of a nation-wide TV audience. True or false, the rumors were taken quite seriously by the rival factions within the G. O. P. and explain the bitter struggle now going on.

The Dewey-Brownell elements promptly grabbed the headlines from McCarthy, challenging his reputation as the party's leading spy-catcher and hurler-of-accusations. To the same end, Senator Jenner sought the spotlight as the Administration's favorite inquisitor. From California, Thomas L. Stokes reports that the Dewey-Brownell strategy is meeting with success and that McCarthy is beginning to be regarded there as a rather clumsy red-baiter. Enraged by this, McCarthy made an open declaration of war against the Administration in his television-radio speech of November 24. His immediate target is John Foster Dulles; witness the rebirth of interest in the John Paton Davies case and the ugly smear campaign now being organized against Arthur H. Dean, our chief representative in the Panmunjom negotiations. But the Senator is clearly stalking the President and his Attorney General, the first in order to make it difficult for Eisenhower to hand on the succession to Mr. Dewey or some other favorite, the second because Brownell is the generalissimo of the Dewey forces. At the same time Senator William Knowland has aligned himself with McCarthy on at least two key issues the better to prevent Vice-President Nixon, who is quite a spy-catcher himself, from concluding an alliance with the junior Senator from Wisconsin.

First Major Mistake?

Not at all pleased by these developments, a group of middle-of-the-road Republicans are trying to moderate the struggle for power: Representative Frelinghuysen by a proposal to consolidate the McCarthy, Velde, and Jenner committees in a single joint committee of the

House and Senate; Senator Duff, who would replace the three committees with a Presidential commission; and others who would change the seniority rules and then replace McCarthy, as chairman of the key committee, with someone like Senator Williams of Delaware. But these efforts are not likely to succeed.

In the meantime the President has begun to act and sound like a leader and to reassert his command of the party. If he has finally decided to call the turn on McCarthy—and his intention will be made clear once Congress reconvenes—then the latter's open declaration of war on November 24 may turn out to have been his first major tactical mistake.

Franco and France

Western diplomatic circles are beginning to be seriously disturbed by the deterioration in French-Spanish relations. The Spanish dictator, known as a Germanophile since he was a young captain in World War I, is apparently taking advantage of every opportunity to injure France. When the French deposed the old Sultan of Morocco, Franco, who in his own country suppresses every political party except the Falange, suddenly became a champion of democracy in Spanish Morocco, encouraging the growth of all kinds of Arab political factions—so long as they were anti-French. The authorities in Paris believe they can trace some of the assassinations in French Morocco to groups harbored in the Spanish zone, and expect even more trouble from them as time goes on.

Last week the friction between the two countries spread from North Africa to the journalistic front in Madrid and Paris. Franco began things by expelling Jean Creach, Madrid correspondent of *Le Monde*, who while usually sympathetic to the Franco regime had reported on the unexpected "nationalist" opposition within the Falange to the Washington-Madrid military pact. The Quai D'Orsay retaliated by expelling the Paris correspondent of the Madrid *A. B. C.* Franco promptly banned *Le Monde* in Spain, and the Spanish Newspaper Association, which is under the dictator's control, is now demanding that all Spanish correspondents be withdrawn from France and all French correspondents be expelled from Spain.

One thing is clear: so long as Franco feels he has American support he will continue to give free rein to his hostility to France.

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Felix S. Cohen

With the death of Felix S. Cohen, at forty-six, not only have the United States Indians lost their most resourceful defender and wisest counselor; American liberalism, applied anthropology, and the philosophy of law have lost one of their best thinkers and perhaps their subtlest literary voice. Felix Cohen, like his father, Morris Cohen, and like John Dewey, reached out for a wider and more substantive content for American philosophy. Both as thinker and as man of action, he added significantly to the American heritage.

The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, the product of many minds and especially Indian minds, had in Felix Cohen its main architect and most resourceful interpreter and implementer. The genius of that act lay in its creation of government-Indian relations based on mutual consent and an experimental attitude on both sides. Now, when the Administration and the controlling elements in Congress appear intent on destroying government-Indian reciprocity, renewing the dissipation of the Indians' lands, and threatening the Indians' spiritual existence, the death of Felix Cohen is a bitter loss indeed.

Mr. Eisenhower's Proposal

WAS the President's address to the United Nations a clever diversionary move in the cold war or was it a sincere and modestly practical plan to initiate international cooperation in the one area of atomic development—the industrial use of nuclear energy—where it might be conceivable? Even Mr. Eisenhower's supporters are divided on this question. Those most fiercely opposed to any deal with Russia would like to believe that the President's proposal to create an atomic stockpile under U. N. control to which all nations possessing fissionable material would contribute was only a trick to catch Moscow off base while also distracting the public eye from the meager results achieved at Bermuda and the continuing differences among the Western allies. The Russians, this theory holds, were sure to reject the proposal; they would never contribute to an enterprise launched by the United States anyhow, and they probably have little fissionable material to spare. So the President could afford an offer which would be dangerous in the extreme if it ran any chance of being accepted. Others, less bellicose, favored the plan as a serious effort to make a small dent in the wall of suspicion and "security" that blocks all progress toward control of the new weapons of mass destruction. A few voices, sounding somehow a little hollow, hailed the President's speech as a great and stirring call to peaceful cooperation and disarmament.

Without wishing to appear pusillanimous we incline to believe that Mr. Eisenhower was trying with some success to do all these things at once—and maybe a couple

more. His speech served to dramatize for the world as well as for the American people the monstrous dimensions of the atomic threat: it was at least a first instalment of "operation candor." It certainly took the spotlight off Bermuda, sounding a positive note that was sorely lacking in the news from the conference itself. It carried the added weight of the approval of Churchill, Eden, and Cherwell, Laniel and Bidault. It won credit abroad by putting the proposed stockpile under the aegis of the United Nations. And at the same time it did force Russia to an awkward decision, somewhat as the Marshall Plan did, by inviting it to join in a program from which all nations would benefit but in which Russia would inevitably take second place. (The Communist press could blast it as a cheap substitute for Moscow's plan to abolish atomic weapons, but since Eisenhower openly declared his intention, in the interest of agreement, to by-pass the stalemated military problem, this charge lost some of its effect.) In terms of domestic politics, the degree and kind of cooperation would be modest enough if the Kremlin should accept, so that all but the most irreconcilable Red-haters would probably back the President, at least at the start. All in all it seems to us that within its narrow limits the move was both clever and useful.

AS THIS WEEK began the Soviet government still had Mr. Eisenhower's suggestion under advisement. Should it turn the offer down it would suffer a diplomatic defeat greater than it would risk by accepting. Once it had agreed in principle, it could of course make use of the negotiations which would follow to try to gear the plan to its own concept of a peace offensive.

In applying the proposal there will be problems to meet almost as tough as those presented by the Baruch control plan. Chief among them will be the problems of safeguarding the international stockpile without any international force to do the job and of determining the ratio of material to be contributed by each power without any system of international inspection to check and report on the amount possessed by each. In the effort to resolve these problems the Soviet government would find many opportunities to turn the tables, if it chose, on the United States. Though Moscow will probably never believe it, by far its most effective way to regain the initiative would be to act with generosity rather than suspicion. For the President's proposal, cautious though it was, would in its working out involve a sharing of now-secret information and even of power that would be as difficult for the United States as for Russia.

If both sides should prove willing to display the moderate degree of courage and cooperation called for, the new atomic plan could lead to more far-reaching efforts—those efforts which will be required to overcome the imminent threat of atomic destruction so convincingly described by Mr. Eisenhower.

Bermuda to Berlin

THE Bermuda conference showed what happens when a group of bald men try to let down their hair. It was bound to be a frustrating experience.

Sir Winston Churchill had hoped to recapture the glory and the Anglo-American intimacy of Casablanca, Quebec, Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam. But 1953 is not 1941-45. Dwight Eisenhower is not Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The old gentleman of Downing Street must have winced at the pangs of anticlimax. What thoughts must have passed across his memory that morning as he brooded alone on a chair at the water's edge on the Bermuda beach. He doodled with his cane in the sand. Then he gazed long and intently at a solitary ship crawling along the horizon. He sat thus for forty-five minutes. Then he rose and walked falteringly up the slope to the road. But it was not the road back that Churchill had hoped to find. That eluded him, probably forever.

In the platitudinous tradition of conference pronouncements, the final communiqué put the accent on unity among the United States, Britain, and France. An American official told newsmen the conference's main accomplishment was "enabling us to see how each other's mind works." In fact, the minds of the three participants approached major issues quite differently.

Each of the three on the closing day presented his government's attitude toward Communist China. Their differences are well known. A United States delegation spokesman was honest enough afterward to admit: "No effort was made to bring the differing views on China into alignment." So the United States and Britain stood by their opposite positions concerning recognition of and trade with the Peking government.

The French too remained at variance with the United States. Unlike the British, they have not established relations with Red China. But unlike the Americans, they are not against the Soviet proposal to bring Chou En-lai to a five-power conference. Such a broadened meeting, the French hope, would enable them to begin discussions with the Chinese looking to a negotiated settlement of the Indo-China war. However, the French bowed to the Americans on this. When they encounter Molotov in Berlin on January 4, Bidault will join Dulles and Eden in resisting the Soviet demand to invite the Chinese Communists to the conference table. The rejection will probably take the form of telling Molotov that the proposed Far Eastern conference on Korea affords ample opportunity for Peking to enter discussions with the other major powers.

The French were in a lamentable predicament in Bermuda. Because the Laniel-Bidault Cabinet must resign in mid-January when investiture of the new President of the French Republic takes place, both the American

and British leaders in Bermuda considered it pointless to negotiate with the existing government. It will be for a future French Cabinet to seek a majority for the E. D. C. treaty's passage. Hence neither Eisenhower nor Churchill thought it worth while to press the French for any assurance of early presentation of the treaty to Parliament.

On the eve of Bermuda the French indicated they would ask President Eisenhower and Churchill for some guaranty that American and British armed forces would stay in Europe. In addition, the French wanted to move toward a firm agreement regulating Britain's association with the projected European army. All that the French got, though, was a vacuous phrase offering "durable cooperation" between American-British forces in Europe and the European Defense Community.

Throughout the Bermuda conversation Churchill did not once mention his plan for a top-level meeting with Malenkov. He has obviously shelved that idea out of deference to Washington's distaste and Eden's coolness.

On the other hand, Churchill was the only member of the Bermuda party realistic enough to speak openly at a plenary session about possible failure of the entire E. D. C. program. If it were to collapse, he suggested, he would want to discuss some way of overhauling the North Atlantic alliance. This was apparently a renewal of Churchill's earlier suggestion that Germany be taken straight into NATO if the French refuse to ratify E. D. C. (See page 541 for James P. Warburg's proposal for a German settlement.) However, neither Churchill nor anybody else has indicated how one can circumvent or override France's right to veto German membership in the Atlantic pact. Dulles promptly answered Churchill by stating the American view that the alternatives to E. D. C. are "so feeble and hazardous that we don't want to discuss them."

The French failed to squeeze into the communiqué even a few cautious words acknowledging their right to seek a truce or a compromise settlement in Indo-China. That was the very least Laniel and Bidault could have taken home to placate the growing popular anger against the useless and seemingly hopeless Indo-China struggle. Just before Bermuda one of President Eisenhower's top advisers was saying privately in Washington that the United States would review its entire relations with France if the French were to withdraw from Indo-China. Considering the increasingly overt preference of the Eisenhower Administration for the German as contrasted with the French allies, the meaning of this hint was obvious enough.

JOURNALISTS in Bermuda discovered on the conference's first evening that transparent paper was being slapped over cracks in the Big Three alliance. At the opening session the principals compared their appraisals of Soviet policy since Stalin's death. Churchill said

the West must be strong but must avail itself of every chance for contacts with Moscow at all levels. It must try to infiltrate the Soviet Union culturally, he went on, and enlarge its trade with Russia. "There's a deep change inside the mighty Kremlin," Churchill told Eisenhower and Laniel, "and we should consider the situation in that light." He finally urged that Russia be given assurance that "she won't get another dose of Hitler."

Mr. Eisenhower's outlook was very different. Churchill had spoken of post-Stalin Russia's "new look." The President tossed this aside by insisting that nothing essential has changed in the Soviet Union since Malenkov succeeded Stalin.

Bidault talked of internal economic stress in the U. S. S. R., especially in agriculture. He derived his information from the speech of Nikita Krushchev, Soviet Communist Party chief, who publicly divulged in October the failures in farm output, notably in livestock. Bidault implied that these deficiencies might make Moscow more amenable. At any rate, he suggested, one should keep an open mind as to new trends in Soviet policy.

THESE DIVERGENCES among the Western powers are meaningful. Whatever outward solidarity is observed in Berlin, Dulles, Eden, and Bidault will enter the talks with Molotov with varying mentalities and aspirations.

Which is the true American attitude? President Eisenhower, in his celebrated atomic speech before the U. N. Assembly, proclaimed:

The government of the United States approaches this [Berlin] conference with hopeful sincerity. We will bend every effort of our minds to the single purpose of emerging from that conference with tangible results toward peace—the only true way of lessening international tension.

Is the American delegation really going to Berlin, then, hopeful of tangible results? A group of United States correspondents were given precisely the opposite impression earlier the same day by a highly responsible American official in Bermuda. His thinking about Berlin, so far as successful negotiation with the Russians is concerned, was utterly defeatist. He declared the four-power conference at best would be an opportunity for pressing the Soviets "to expose the bankruptcy of their policy." Berlin, he stated, will be no occasion for reaching decisions. In other American official quarters it was said the primary purpose of the Berlin discussions, rather than being serious negotiation with the Russians, is to persuade the French, British, and Germans that the means of seeking agreement with the U. S. S. R. have been exhausted. From this it would follow, as the Eisenhower Administration sees it, that the only alternative is swift approval and formation of the six-nation European army, including rearmament of the German republic.

PLAN FOR GERMAN UNITY

An Expert's Proposal . . by James P. Warburg

THERE can be no assurance that even the most sincere effort will, at this late date, bring about an acceptable all-German settlement. But one thing is certain: unless that effort is made, the NATO treaties, if ratified, will never be carried through in such a way as to achieve their purpose. The NATO plan can be redeemed from failure only by proving to the peoples of Europe that it is Russia, and Russia alone, which stands in the way of an honorable and satisfactory all-German settlement.

The first requirement of a Western program for an all-German settlement is that it must provide not only security but *a sense of security* for the people of France and the other countries of Western Europe. It must provide reasonable assurance against German domination, aggression, or betrayal, as well as maximum attainable security against Communist subversion or Russian military attack.

Second, the proposal must seem just and desirable to the majority of the German people. It must restore their unity, guarantee their freedom, and permit the development of a peacefully prosperous economy. It must settle the question of Germany's frontiers in such a way as to minimize the risk of future revisionism.

Third, the proposal must give Russia the assurance that Germany will not become either a pawn or a partner, much less a prime mover, in an anti-Soviet coalition.

JAMES P. WARBURG, author and publicist, has been primarily concerned with American policy toward Germany. This article is a condensed version of a proposal which the author submitted to the Eisenhower Administration before it took office. The proposal is discussed in detail in Mr. Warburg's latest book, "Germany, Key to Peace," published by the Harvard University Press and copyrighted by the President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1953.

Fourth, the proposal must be such as to assure the Czechs and the Poles, much as it assures the peoples of Western Europe, that the new Germany will not become a menace to their security, prosperity, and freedom.

There are six major problems involved in an all-German settlement: (1) the final determination of Germany's frontiers; (2) the rights Germany shall or shall not be given as to the maintenance of military forces and the manufacture of arms; (3) the rights Germany shall or shall not be given as to the joining of alliances; (4) the obligations, if any, which Germany shall assume for further reparations; (5) the degree to which Germany shall be left free to determine its own economic structure; (6) the degree to which Germany shall be left free to determine its own political structure. These are not the only problems involved in a settlement, but they are the most important.

1. *Frontiers.* At Potsdam, in August, 1945, Britain and the United States agreed to let Russia annex the northern half of East Prussia with its Baltic port of Königsberg. They agreed further to place "under Polish administration," subject to the final determination of a German peace treaty, the following German territory: the southern half of East Prussia, the eastern part of Brandenburg, and all of Pomerania, Upper Silesia, and Lower Silesia. Some ten million German inhabitants were evicted from these lands and forced to migrate into the rump of Germany, in addition to some three million Germans evicted from Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

One thing upon which practically all Germans agree is that they wish to restore Germany's 1937 frontiers. To accomplish this in whole or part will be the major aim of any future all-German government. The greatest danger that a new German nation might be won to an alliance with Russia lies in a possible future German deal with Russia at the expense of Poland. So

long as the present frontier stands, this danger cannot be eliminated. A peace settlement must therefore provide for an adjustment of the frontier which will deprive the Kremlin of this powerful instrument of seduction. This must be a *sine qua non* in any Western proposal for a settlement.

Since the Kremlin is well aware of the value of its present position, negotiations may well break down on this point. Nevertheless, it is an issue upon which the Western powers must be both firm and precise. There would seem, in this case, to be ample room for a reasonable compromise, even though the Western position has been weakened by delay and morally undermined by the formal recognition of the Soviet annexation in East Prussia and by French quasi-annexation of the Saar.

CONSIDERING all the circumstances and all the water that has flowed under the bridges since Yalta and Potsdam, the writer suggests that the Western powers make the following specific proposal: *That Germany shall be permanently deprived of East Prussia and Upper Silesia, but that the remaining former German territories annexed by Poland in 1945 be returned.*

This proposal is based upon the following reasoning: East Prussia became a strategically provocative German island when the Polish Corridor was established after World War I. Most of its rich agricultural land was owned by a relatively small number of Junker families who through alliance with the military clique had for years drawn heavy subsidies from the German taxpayers. Its loss will not seriously hurt the German people. Its annexation by Poland will largely offset the loss of the Polish Ukraine.

There was no justification whatever for the Russian seizure of the northern half of the province. Stalin simply demanded the cession, and Truman, Churchill, and Attlee agreed. Having,

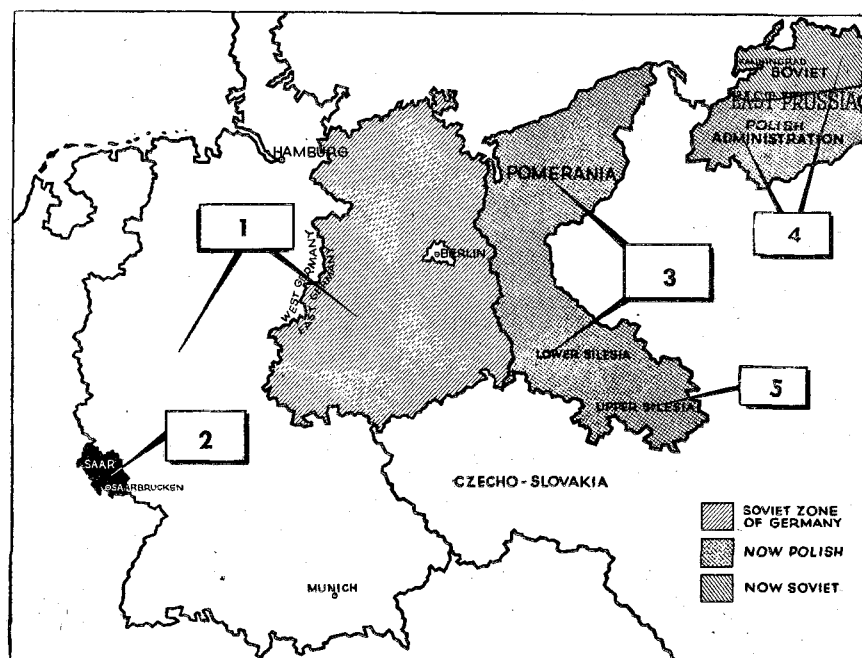
since then, formally recognized this annexation, the Western powers cannot now demand or even suggest that Russia give up this territory to Poland. Yet it is not altogether out of the question that Russia might voluntarily make such a move—perhaps retaining some sort of rights to the port of Königsberg—in order to retain the good-will of Poland, provided that an otherwise acceptable settlement of the German problem could be reached.

The case for recognizing the Polish annexation of Upper Silesia rests on different grounds. The population of this rich industrial province is partly Polish, and the territory has at various times belonged to Poland. Moreover, a peaceful Germany does not need the coal fields and the heavy industry of Upper Silesia if it retains its coal and industry in the West. Ceding this area to Poland would give that country an economy healthily balanced between agriculture and industry and—perhaps as important—make Poland a second source of coal supply for the other countries of Europe.

The reason for restoring the agricultural provinces of Lower Silesia, Pomerania, and Brandenburg to Germany is that, without these lands, the new Germany would have to become a heavy importer of foodstuffs and hence a heavy exporter of manufactured goods. This would make Germany an unnecessarily severe competitor for Great Britain and the United States in the markets of the world.

A second and equally important reason for the return of these provinces is that it would relieve the population pressure within Germany and make possible the resettlement of some of the now homeless refugees. A census of these expelled persons, as well as a study of the density of Polish settlement in the annexed territories, would help to determine whether all or only a part of these agricultural provinces should be returned.

THE WESTERN powers cannot logically or morally sustain the foregoing proposal for eastern frontier revision unless they rectify their own position with respect to the Saar. This matter will have to be settled with the French before any approach is made to the Soviet Union, and such a settlement will not



1. Germany Unified; 2. U. N. Mandate Followed by Plebiscite; 3. Return to Germany; 4. Present Division Retained; 5. Remains Polish.

be easy. The Saar issue, more than any one single factor, has poisoned recent Franco-German relations. It has become the symbol of irreconcilable nationalism in both France and Germany.

The real significance of the Saarland is economic rather than political. The disputed area comprises only 2,835 square kilometers, densely populated by about 950,000 German-speaking and ethnically German inhabitants. This small area contains extremely rich coal deposits, producing annually about 15,000,000 tons of high-grade coal. In addition, a highly developed metallurgical industry produces pig-iron and about 2,500,000 tons of steel per annum, using the iron ore of neighboring French Lorraine. This economic interdependence of the Saar and Lorraine led Bismarck in 1871 to annex Lorraine to Germany, claiming that the Ruhr and the Saar "needed" the iron ore of the French province and that this justified Germany's taking it. Much the same argument in reverse is now put forward by France.

Morally, the French claim to the Saar on these grounds is as indefensible as Bismarck's claim to Lorraine. There are, however, certain extenuating circumstances. While Bismarck's claim rested, at bottom, upon the need to build a dominant Germany, the French claim rests, at bottom, upon the need to prevent France from being dominated by Germany—not upon the desire to make

France the most powerful nation on the Continent.

French production of steel totals only a little over 10,000,000 tons per annum. The output of the German Ruhr is over 15,000,000 tons, with considerably greater potential capacity. If the Saar remains integrated with France, German and French steel production will be almost equalized. If the Saar is returned to Germany, France will produce only about 60 per cent as much steel as Germany. This is what lies at the heart of the dispute.

One might suppose that if the Schuman Plan merger of coal and steel production is assumed as a reality, these nationalistic considerations would be rendered obsolete. However, French insistence upon retaining the Saar—or, at the very least, keeping it separate from Germany—arises not only out of anachronistic nationalism but also out of the realistic fear that the watered-down Schuman Plan merger will result in German domination of the six-nation pool. This fear is justified by the fact that Britain's abstention and the influence of the British decision upon other nations have kept the Schuman Plan from embracing a larger part of Europe, in which the German influence might have been diluted. French fears are also justified by the unwise concessions made under American pressure to the Ruhr monopolists.

The first step in the Western proposal

should therefore be the suggestion that the Saar be placed for a certain number of years under a United Nations mandate, guaranteeing its political independence until its status is finally determined by a plebiscite.

The second step should be that the Saarlanders be permitted, without interference by France or Germany, to elect a new Constitutional Assembly, to adopt a new constitution and to elect a new government. Through this process the Saarlanders could freely debate and determine what their government's economic policy should be.

The third point in the proposal should be an Anglo-American agreement to reconsider and revise the concessions made to the Ruhr monopolists, in such a way as to insure so far as possible the restoration of the Schuman Plan to its original, single-free-market concept.

2. German Rights as to Militarization. French security—European security, for that matter—cannot be achieved by any plan which provides for a rearmed and divided Germany; it can be achieved only by a plan which reunites Germany and keeps it demilitarized until such time as an effective system of collective security can be brought into effect.

The Western powers should propose that under the peace treaty Germany shall be kept disarmed and demilitarized for a period of five or perhaps ten years, with the explicit provision that if universal disarmament shall not have been achieved at the end of that period, all restrictions applicable to Germany alone shall be lifted.

The Western proposal should further provide for continuous inspection by a United Nations commission to enforce German disarmament and demilitarization, with any violations to be reported at once to the Security Council. The United Nations commission should take over its duties as soon as the occupation forces of the four powers are withdrawn; this should be not later than one year after the signing of the peace treaty.

This proposal would satisfy both French and Russian fears of a resurgence of German military power. It would give Germany no just grievance. Finally, it would put a premium upon the early translation into action of the present, universally hypocritical lip-service to universal disarmament.

3. German Rights as to Alliances. A parallel formula should be applied to the question of Germany's right to enter into military alliances. This right cannot be denied permanently to Germany any more than the right to maintain armed forces.

The Western powers should propose a guaranty of German neutrality by all the signatories of the peace treaty for the period during which Germany is denied the right to rearm; if at the end of that period German rearmament is permitted—by reason of failure to achieve universal disarmament—then the guaranty shall lapse and Germany shall have the right to enter into whatever military alliance it may wish.

THIS PART of the proposal is probably the crucial point in working out a Western program. The United States has insisted up to this point that a united Germany must become a member of the NATO alliance. Russia cannot reasonably be expected to agree to any all-German settlement on that basis. In this observer's opinion, neither Britain nor France will in the long run support the American position if Russia takes a reasonable attitude on other aspects of a settlement. Unless we are prepared to yield on this question, there will be no point in making any proposal. Whereas the make-or-break point for Russia will probably arise over the question of Oder-Neisse frontier revision, the make-or-break point for us will be the decision as to German neutrality.

4. Reparations. The question of reparations has been unnecessarily confused by the sloppiness of the original Yalta and Potsdam agreements and by subsequent Russian refusal to account for the reparations illegally extracted from the Soviet zone. It is suggested that the Western powers make the following concrete proposal: (1) that reparations through transfer of capital assets shall cease, except perhaps for a small number of specific plants still to be designated for removal; (2) that there shall be no further reparations out of current German production until after Germany shall have repaid Britain, France, and the United States the sums they have invested in West German relief and reconstruction; (3) that after the three Western powers have been repaid, a fixed total amount, to be agreed upon

for each country claiming further reparations, shall be paid out in annual pro rata payments, but only to the extent that such payments can be made without depressing the German living standard below the West European level. These annual payments are to be made by Germany only during the period of enforced demilitarization.

5. Economic Organization. The four problems of unification already discussed are very largely matters in which the chief difficulty will be to achieve four-power agreement. The two remaining major items, which concern the economic and political organization of the new Germany, require German agreement as well as four-power consent. In the last analysis, the basic structure of the economy of the new German nation will be determined very largely by the political nature of the all-German state.

6. Political Organization. Just as the four occupying owners will have to recognize that they cannot determine the nature of Germany's economic organization, so also they will have to accept the fact that there is not very much they can or should do to determine its inner political structure.

The Western powers should insist—as they already have done—that an all-German government come into being as the result of free campaigning by the political parties and freely held elections. They should insist—as they already have done—upon the constitutional guaranty to all German citizens of the political freedoms. The Russian note of March 10, 1952, indicated pos-



sible Russian acceptance of these demands. It remains necessary to nail down a solid agreement as to these basic matters.

We cannot be sure that a new Germany, so created, would become a peaceable and productive member of the European community. If a united Germany is given justification for feeling itself treated as a permanently second-class member of the European family or if Germany again becomes the object of

competitive wooing by Russia and the West, then the chances are that Germany will once more play off East against West and become arrogant, aggressive, and unmanageable. If, on the other hand, the new Germany, being neither wooed nor treated as an inferior, is permitted to work its way back to a position of earned equality, then the forces of peaceable industriousness and reason may be expected to gain the upper hand.

One thing, however, is certain: if an all-German settlement such as here proposed can be reached, the chances for creating a favorable European context will be vastly improved. To the extent that Germany ceases to be a bone of contention, the strains of the cold war will be relaxed. A Germany whose neutrality is respected by both sides can become not only a buffer but perhaps something of a bridge over the cleavage which now divides Europe.

THE FREEDOM TO SEE

With or Without Glasses . . . by Ephraim S. London

EVER since their invention movies have been the prime target of censors in the United States. Greater restrictions are imposed on them than on any other art form or medium of communication. Movies were not even entitled to the liberty of the press until 1952, when the Supreme Court recognized that they were a means of communication. Before that the courts of the country had been blindly following a 1915 decision of the Supreme Court holding that movies were merely a "spectacle . . . not to be regarded as an organ of public opinion."

The most repressive form of movie censorship, the licensing system, will be reviewed by the Supreme Court during its present term. It is being challenged as unconstitutional in two cases, one involving the picture "La Ronde," suppressed in New York, and the other "M," banned in Ohio. Although the system operates in only seven states and about sixty large cities, it sets the standards for most films made in Hollywood. The areas in which there is licensing—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Chicago, Boston, Detroit, etc.—are some of the most lucrative markets for American films, and the major producers will not risk losing them.

EPHRAIM S. LONDON, a member of the New York Bar, has represented the moving picture interests in several censorship cases, including the ban on "The Miracle."

Almost all the licensing agencies operate in the same way. Before the public can see a picture, it must be inspected and approved by a board of one or more censors. If it is not approved, it may not be shown within the board's jurisdiction. A censor's rejection of a picture can be appealed to the courts, but in most cases—roughly 499 out of 500—the courts cannot or will not reverse a censor's decision.

WE WOULD not tolerate a licensing system for books, magazines, newspapers, or plays. Why, then, are we complacent about the licensing of movies? The reason generally given is that movies have a broader appeal and therefore a greater capacity for evil; hence they must be more stringently regulated. The broad appeal of the movies, however, is really a cogent argument against regulation. In a democratic society the greater the audience reached by any medium of communication, the greater the need to keep it free.

I have often speculated about the qualifications of a censor. Is he supposed to have a higher moral code, a quicker perception of indecency, a greater knowledge of prurency? What training prepares a candidate for the job? What tests are given to determine his fitness? Whatever the qualifications, the appointments are usually political. With two or three notable exceptions, among them Dr. Flick of the New York

censorship division, most censors have no greater fitness for their work than might be expected of a minor politician.

The general incompetence of the members of licensing boards is particularly dangerous because their judgments, of necessity, are personal. The various motion-picture censorship laws prohibit films found "immoral," "harmful," "indecent," or "prejudicial to the best interests of the people." But there are no objective criteria for determining whether a scene or an entire picture is objectionable on these grounds. The test is the reaction of the individual viewer. And the reactions of censors are often irrational and inconsistent. One licensing board will pass a picture in its entirety; another will not pass it unless certain scenes are cut; a third board will hold the same film to be completely unacceptable. "Tomorrow Is Too Late," winner of an award from *Parents Magazine* and passed by the New York censorship division, was banned in Maryland. "Latuko," sponsored by the New York Museum of Natural History, was suppressed in New York, but a New Jersey court declared that only a pervert would consider the film obscene.

Personal censorship by the license boards often extends to religious, political, and social ideas. Many of the films of the past few years dealing with racial discrimination, such as "Pinky," and "Lost Boundaries," were banned in various cities in the South. "Curley," an

Our Gang type comedy in which white and colored children were shown together, could not be released in Memphis, Tennessee, because, the Memphis censors declared, "the South does not permit Negroes in white schools nor recognize social equality between the races even in children." The chairman of the same board described another film, "Imitation of Life," as "the worst case of racial equality" he ever saw.

On the theory that the audience may imitate "wrongful" conduct that is not condemned on the screen the censors insist that in movies virtue must prevail, wickedness must be punished. Marital problems may not be solved by divorce, for that would encourage it; the innocent may not be convicted, for that would inspire lawlessness. Last year the Ohio board rejected "Native Son," based on the novel about a Negro hoodlum. The underlying theme of the story is that the hoodlum was made an enemy of society by society itself; that the slum in which he was compelled to live and the thwarting of his ambitions by racial barriers created a bitterness and resentment that finally led to violence. The board refused to pass the picture on the grounds that it was "against public interest in undermining confidence that justice can be carried out; and presents racial frictions at a time when all groups should be united against everything that is subversive."

The majority of licensors have little technical knowledge of the medium they govern and rarely consider the artistic merit or purpose of the pictures they review. At the same time that "Latuko," a serious documentary film on the life of aborigines, was suppressed in New York because a few natives appeared without clothing, a profusion of striptease and burlesque films were approved.

The licensing system is only one of the many kinds of censorship to which movies are subjected. There is in addition, censorship by the motion-picture industry through the Motion Picture Code; censorship by unofficial pressure groups such as the Legion of Decency, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Protestant Motion Picture Council, and American Legion; and police censorship by criminal action against indecent or obscene films. The cases pending before the Supreme Court attack only the constitutionality of the license system.

There are crucial differences between suppressing a picture under a license law before it has been exhibited and trying to ban it by police action after it has been shown. The mere existence of a licensing system imposes a restraint. The licensors, paid to find evil, are much quicker to find objection. Under the criminal laws a film may be suppressed only if it is obscene, lewd, or indecent; under the license laws films are suppressed on those and on general ideological grounds.

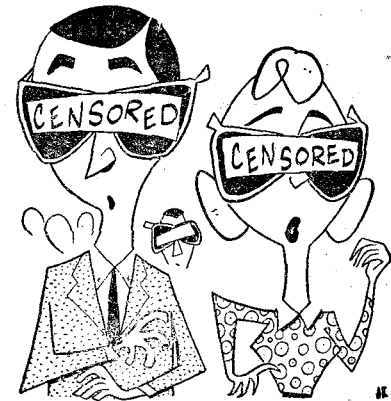
A PICTURE attacked under a penal law has the benefit of certain legal protections that are not afforded under the licensing laws. There is a right to fair hearing and trial under the criminal laws but not under the license laws. A government official charging that a moving picture is obscene must prove that it is obscene as a whole. A licensor may refuse to approve a picture if he finds a single scene or line objectionable. A few weeks ago the Ohio board banned "The Little Fugitive," a picture about a child's day at Coney Island, because a fragment of a scene was said to be offensive. The picture could not have been banned under a criminal statute.

Under a criminal complaint, a movie must be proved obscene or lewd beyond a reasonable doubt. The licensor, on the other hand, need only show that he was not entirely arbitrary or capricious; if there is any doubt about his decision it must, as a matter of law, be resolved in the licensor's favor.

The licensing system, as a result, imposes much greater restraint than the laws punishing indecent pictures. The movie "M," for example, banned in Ohio, was not and could not be interfered with in the hundreds of places without licensing systems where it was shown. The same immunity is enjoyed by a great number, probably a majority, of the films rejected.

The framers of the Constitution were fully aware of the dangers of licensing. The First Amendment, guaranteeing freedom of the press, was adopted primarily to prevent licensing of communications. Licensing of publications was the means used by the Church of England to control the first printing presses, and the system was imported by the colonies. The first fight for liberty of the press in this country was for emancipation from that system.

The censorship boards and the legislatures that control them realize that the laws under which they operate are obsolete and legally unsound. A few months ago Dr. Flick, chief of the New York



3-D—or C—d?

division, described the New York censorship law as "archaic," and Dr. Clyde Miller, one of the administrators of the Ohio censorship bureau, said of the pending court test of the law, "I feel we are almost sure to lose it."

In several states where the licensing system is used the legislators have been pressed to modify or repeal the existing laws. Thus far no action has been taken, and the issue has been left for determination by the Supreme Court. It may be that the lawmakers are reluctant to have their governments lose the substantial income derived from censoring. A charge of \$2 to \$3 per reel is usually made for reviewing the pictures submitted, and the average collections by state censorship boards range from \$200,000 to \$300,000 per year.

The question of the constitutionality of the licensing laws was submitted to the Supreme Court last year in the "Miracle" and "Pinky" cases. In accordance with the general policy of the court those cases were decided on narrow rather than broad constitutional grounds. The court held that the provisions of the license laws involved in those cases were unconstitutional but left open the question whether all movie licensing laws are invalid. That question will again be raised in the "M" and "La Ronde" cases. If the court decides the "M" and "La Ronde" cases without deciding the principal issue of whether all such statutes are unconstitutional, the question will be presented again, as often as is necessary, until the issue is finally determined.

MCCARTHY'S WINDFALL

Robert E. Lee and the F.C.C. . . *By Arthur R. Main*

Washington

OF HIS half-hour broadcast on the White case last month, ex-President Truman devoted the final two minutes to McCarthyism, explaining that he was not "referring to the Senator from Wisconsin—he is only important in that his name has taken on a dictionary meaning for the world." Nevertheless, Senator McCarthy immediately announced that he was notifying the Federal Communications Commission that he wanted facilities equal to Truman's—that is, a full thirty minutes of radio and TV time—in order to answer what he termed an attack on him.

Reporters who asked the Senator what he would do if the networks refused were answered: "I think I will get the time." He did—\$300,000 worth for nothing. After all, radio and TV executives were aware that the President had recently appointed two McCarthy-approved Republicans to the F. C. C.

The latest appointee is Robert E. Lee, a former chief clerk of the F. B. I. whose sole experience with mass-communications media has been as moderator of Facts Forum, a new and heavily subsidized radio-TV panel show which seems to have as its goal the elevation of McCarthy to the Presidency of the United States. If Mr. Lee possesses a single qualification for sitting on the F. C. C., which has ultimate authority over the air waves, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* thinks "it is not apparent." The newspaper adds that there are "ample reasons why he should not have been appointed and why, having been appointed, he should not be confirmed by the Senate." A bitter fight is expected in January when his nomination is placed before the Senate for approval.

If Lee has no qualifications, why was he appointed? On October 14 *Variety* wrote that the new F. C. C. member "in all probability will be the guiding spirit,

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with the blessings of the Administration, in reactivating the drive against AM-TV personalities who are reputedly Red-tinted." The article went on: "While the F. C. C., as such, would remain aloof from assuming an active role in the campaign against subversion in broadcasting, the assumption is that Lee, an ex-administrative assistant to F. B. I. Director J. Edgar Hoover, would be in a propitious spot to case the industry as a forerunner to action by the House Un-American Activities Committee."

The circumstances leading up to the appointment were in themselves interesting. Last April McCarthy, sitting as a one-man subcommittee, summoned F. C. C. Commissioner Walker to a secret session and warned him not to do anything that would help Milwaukee school officials obtain, for educational purposes, a television channel which Hearst was seeking as a commercial outlet. Lee now has Walker's place on the commission—at the insistence, according to the magazine *Broadcasting*, of Senator McCarthy.

WHETHER or not the new member knows anything about broadcasting, he has had long and varied experience in putting the finger on alleged "subversives." In 1947 he directed a loyalty investigation of State Department employees for the House Appropriations Committee, preparing a coded list of 108 persons he considered to be "loyalty risks." This list somehow found its way into McCarthy's hands when the Senator needed names to support his smear of the State Department in his famous Wheeling, West Virginia, speech. The Lees and the McCarthys are old friends; Mrs. Lee was matron of honor at the recent wedding of McCarthy and the former Jean Kerr.

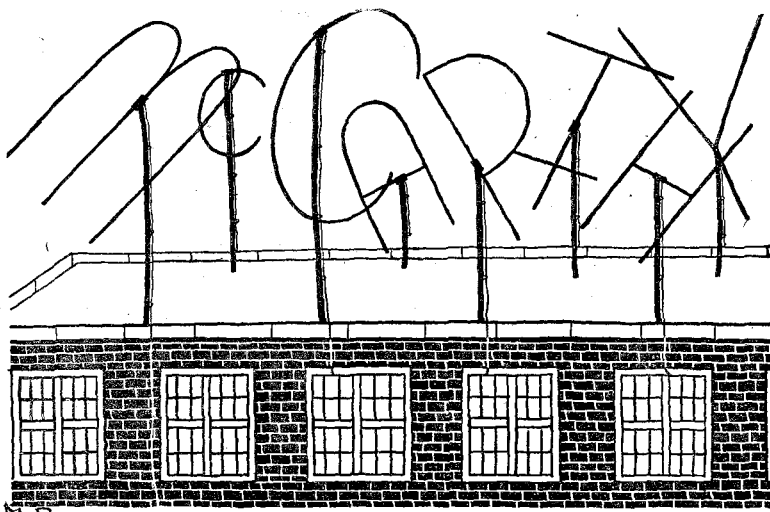
While a paid employee of the House Appropriations Committee, Lee worked in the 1950 Maryland election campaign of John Marshall Butler against Millard Tydings, a campaign in which McCarthy

was active and Lee's co-worker, Jon M. Jonkel, was convicted of violating the Maryland Corrupt Practices Act. An investigation of this election by the Senate Rules Committee indicated that Lee and his wife collaborated with ex-F. B. I. agent Don Surine and with others on McCarthy's staff. The Lees helped to arrange financing for such purposes as the publication of a faked composite photograph showing Tydings in warm comradeship with Earl Browder. A pamphlet, "Back to Good Old Dixie," distribution of which was aided indirectly by the "Irish Catholic with a Confederate name," was sent out as a bid for Negro votes. The Senate Rules Committee found that this pamphlet "was neither published nor paid for by the four Negroes listed as its sponsors."

Mr. and Mrs. Lee, the committee noted, were legal residents of the District of Columbia at the time they worked for Butler. "The 'back street' campaign conducted by non-Maryland outsiders," said the committee report, "was of a form and pattern designed to undermine and destroy the public faith and confidence in the basic American loyalty of a well-known figure. It followed a specific theme and course which has become, unfortunately, a means and weapon which strikes to destroy as suspiciously subversive, rather than simply to defeat an issue."

Lee moderated the Facts Forum program when McCarthy appeared as its first guest. The program is advertised as carried on 180 radio stations and 50 television stations. It sponsors "discussion groups" in the United States and foreign countries, the discussion being heavily weighted with extreme right-wing polemics. Mrs. McCarthy left the Senator's staff several months before their marriage to do research work for Facts Forum.

While the program advertises that it provides a forum for different political views, its advisory board shows no evidence of non-partisanship. Writing on



May 14 in the *Dallas Morning News*, Colonel H. L. Hunt, multimillionaire Texas oilman and close friend of McCarthy, named himself as "chief sponsor" and the following as "counselors": Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, Lloyd Skinner, John Wayne, Hanford MacNider, Governor Allan Shivers, W. G. Vollmer, General Robert E. Wood, Dr. Francis P. Gaines, and General Albert C. Wedemeyer.

DR. PEALE is a former chairman of the Committee for Constitutional Government, an extreme right-wing group now headed by Edward A. Rumely, a convicted German agent. "Apostles of Discord," a new Protestant study of "fringe groups promoting hate and disruption" compiled by the Reverend Ralph Lord Roy, makes significant mention of Dr. Peale. "On his own stationery," it says, "Peale urged the nation's Catholic priests to read 'For Americans Only,' stating that 'as religious leaders, it is our duty to be wise and informed . . . in current movements, many of them swordlike, which may seriously affect the perpetuity of freedom. . . . This book, written jointly by a former member of Congress (Samuel B. Pettengill) and a distinguished Catholic economist (Paul C. Bartholomew) will give you a deeper insight into contemporary trends.'" And further: "While no longer connected officially, Peale continues to work closely with the Committee for Constitutional Government . . . and other similar groups of the extreme right."

Not only does Dr. Peale advise Facts Forum but he is on the "select advisory committee" of Spiritual Mobilization, which was initiated in 1935 by James W. Fifield, pastor of the First Congre-

gational Church of Los Angeles. "In December, 1952," Mr. Roy says in "Apostles of Discord," "Rabbi Julius J. Nodel of Temple Beth Israel in Portland, Oregon, expressed the fears of many Jews and Negroes in a sermon attacking the activities of Fifield and his cohorts."

General Wood, head of Sears, Roebuck and former chairman of America First, is so enthusiastic about Facts Forum that its literature is distributed by a number of Sears stores. In some areas Sears is paying for Facts Forum broadcasts, and the October number of *Facts Forum News* lists Sears as a contributor. At the height of the 1952 election campaign General Wood was chairman of a Chicago dinner at which Senator McCarthy, its televised speaker, sought to identify Adlai Stevenson with communism. A sworn statement of the dinner committee filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives records payments to Sears, Roebuck of \$877, after the election, to reimburse the company for the use of its employees.

The White House recently appointed General Wood to head a group to dispose of government surplus property. Wood then announced his resignation from Sears, Roebuck, presumably so that he could devote more time to Facts Forum and the government. Between 1934 and 1949 General Wood contributed \$16,000 to Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council, which the Buchanan committee of the Eighty-first Congress, investigating lobbying activities, charged with "an ill-concealed anti-Semitism."

An early Facts Forum speaker was Allen Zoll, founder of American Patriots, Inc. The 1952 report of the Anti-Defa-

mation League of B'nai B'rith put Zoll prominently among the "troublemakers."

According to *Facts Forum News*, \$100 was awarded by Facts Forum as a special bonus to a woman who condemned "Unesco, the Covenant of Human Rights, the Genocide Convention" in a letter published in a Dallas newspaper. Lesser awards were made to persons who sent similar letters to other newspapers or to national magazines like the *Saturday Evening Post*.

COLONEL HUNT backed General Douglas MacArthur for the Presidency. He is now seeking a winner and visualizes McCarthy as a candidate who could enlist Dixiecrat and right-wing Republican support. Hunt wants to draw middle-of-the-roads into McCarthy's camp through Facts Forum. Five years ago *Fortune Magazine* rated Hunt as probably the richest person in the country. His oil holdings alone are reputed to be worth more than a half-billion. Because of the "oil depletion" tax loophole, most of his income from this source is tax-free.

When McCarthy visited Texas last June he was a guest of a number of oil men, including Hunt. At that time Marquis Childs, the columnist, declared that Hunt and others had arranged with McCarthy to put him on television regularly. On September 20 Frederic W. Collins, Washington correspondent of the *Providence Journal*, reported that he had been offered \$125 by Victor Johnston, executive director of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, to appear on Facts Forum in an interview with McCarthy. Johnston, who came to Washington in 1947 as administrative assistant to McCarthy, told Collins that the money was to be paid by Hunt. Collins agreed at first, then changed his mind and explained why. "I had watched McCarthy take statements out of context," he said. "I well understood what he could do with a pair of scissors on a film in which he and I appeared but over which I had no editorial control." According to Collins, Johnston told him that Hunt had "an income of two or three million dollars a week, and he, Johnston, was just trying to help him spend the money on 'our kinds of guys.'" Collins concluded that McCarthy's frequent appearance on television shows could be expected. McCarthy's "nomination for

the Presidency," he added, "could be an objective."

A Dallas resident, Mrs. Cordye Hall, accepted an invitation to visit the Facts Forum library and was presented with six books. "Not one," she writes, "was what I consider objective; two were highly prejudiced in the direction of the extreme right wing; one was written by an ex-Communist and bordered on paranoia; another was about an ex-Communist; and one, of which Facts Forum

had approximately 150 copies, was written by a man jailed twice by the federal government for refusing to give names of contributors to his pro-fascist publications during World War II. I was alarmed to contemplate the harm this well-financed organization might do, and I inquired who selected the books. I was told that the reading committee would consider any publications brought to them. Accordingly, I submitted Stringfellow Barr's 'Let's Join the Human

Race,' Grenville Clark's 'A Plan for Peace,' the current issues of *United Nations World* and the *United Nations Bulletin*."

Mrs. Hall said that she was informed "that these were not the type of publications Facts Forum wanted." Having asked "what type they wanted," she "was told that they were currently considering a book recommended by the National Economic Council" of Merwin K. Hart.

THERE'S NEVER PEACE

In West Virginia's Hills . by William C. Blizzard

Charleston, W. Va.

"THE story of coal is always the same. It is a dark story. For a second's more sunlight men must fight like tigers. For the privilege of seeing the color of their children's eyes by the light of the sun, fathers must fight as beasts in the jungle. That life may have something of decency, something of beauty—a picture, a new dress, a bit of cheap lace fluttering in the window—for this, men who work in the mines must struggle and lose, struggle and win."

So wrote "Mother" Mary Harris Jones in the autobiography she published in 1925, a few years before her death, and she knew whereof she spoke. In the West Virginia coal fields that were her home for thirty years, off and on, she saw the feudal coal-camp system enforced by machine-guns until the great spread of union organization in the early thirties revived the United Mine Workers there. While the elimination of thugs and the upsurge of union strength have not made West Virginia a paradise for the miners, the most obvious gun-toting aspects of coal-company domination in the state have now been virtually eliminated.

Except in Widen. Widen is about sixty miles from Charleston. A strike, originally spontaneous but now sup-

ported by the United Mine Workers, has been going on there for more than a year. With a population of about 1,200, Widen is part of a demesne of 125 square miles owned by the Elk River Coal and Lumber Company. The lord of this vast area, which covers parts of three West Virginia counties, is J. G. Bradley of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, and, on occasion, of the West Virginia hamlet of Dundon, at a short but pleasant remove from the dinginess of Widen.

J. G. BRADLEY is seventy-one years old and set in his ways. Apparently he does not realize that this is no longer the nineteenth century. For forty-three years he has kept the mine at Widen, which normally employs some 700 men, a non-union operation. His is probably the biggest non-union mining company in the United States. Widen is the only large coal mine in West Virginia that has not been organized by the United Mine Workers. The New Deal appeared and disappeared, the U. M. W. A. made sporadic efforts to organize Widen, and still the Bradley empire remained untouched.

Bradley likes to tell the world that his good treatment of his employees accounts for this state of affairs. In fact, however, he has relied on the traditional weapons of the West Virginia coal operator—who, like Bradley, is usually not a West Virginian—to prevent unioniza-

tion. He has reaped the benefit of the typical coal town's isolation: the company owns the highway and the only railroad entering Widen. A union organizer or any other person whom J. G. Bradley wished to exclude would have a poor chance of getting into or staying in the town. Widen is twenty circuitous miles back in the hills from the nearest town with paved streets. Widen's streets—Bradley's streets—are unpaved; Widen's houses—Bradley's houses—are unpainted; Widen's toilets—Bradley's toilets—do not flush, for the reason that they are outside privies. There is nothing in Widen from the bank to the soda fountain which is not owned outright by Bradley.

With his great economic power Bradley has succeeded through the years in electing many of the officials of Clay County, where Widen is located, as well as of the nearby counties of Braxton and Nicholas, chunks of which are owned by the Elk River Coal and Lumber Company. In the present strike situation the company has had little difficulty in obtaining injunctions and the protection of armed guards honored with the designation of "deputy sheriffs." Yet as far back as 1922 the William Kenyon subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor said after a visit to West Virginia: "The system of paying deputy sheriffs out of funds contributed by operators and not out of the public treasury is a vicious and un-American

WILLIAM C. BLIZZARD is a reporter and photographer on Labor's Daily, Charleston, West Virginia.

policy and a practice that should cease." Unless Clay County has augmented its treasury in some unforeseen way the practice persists at Widen. The boss of Bradley's armed guards is Charles W. Ray, for twenty-five years a member of the West Virginia state police and chief of police of Charleston under former Mayor Carl Andrews. Andrews is now secretary of the West Virginia Coal Operators Association and a member of the editorial board of the *Charleston Gazette*.

Bradley would object strongly to my assertion that he is not a West Virginian, although he might concede that he spends most of his time in Boston. He points out that he was a Republican delegate from West Virginia and chairman of the state Y. M. C. A. for twenty-four years. However, few of us in these hills speak with a Harvard accent. At any rate, outside capital, part of which was Bradley's, developed West Virginia, and outside capital, largely Northern, has controlled the state politically and economically since at least the turn of the century.

WE WEST VIRGINIANS, sitting on top of one of the greatest natural sources of wealth in the world, have been forced to see that wealth enrich others while we remain a comparatively backward "hill-billy" state. During the last session of the legislature the school teachers presented figures showing that West Virginia has the largest per capita mineral production in the United States: for each man, woman, and child minerals to the value of \$412.54 are produced. Yet the state ranks thirty-ninth in the nation in educational expenditures per pupil.

The great bulk of our tax income is taken from the pay checks of our wage-earners through sales taxes and so-called gross-sales taxes, both of which the consumer actually pays. To his eternal credit Governor William C. Marland this year proposed a severance, or depletion, tax on coal and other minerals in order to finance our schools and roads. For this he was roundly abused by the coal operators, the Chamber of Commerce, and almost the entire West Virginia press. A prime function of our press seems to be to keep people in ignorance of the way they are being bilked of their birth-right. The columnist Victor Riesel was brought into the act to label Marland's



severance tax "socialism." A legislature composed of men who did not represent the coal miners of West Virginia, a legislature most of whose members did not represent the best interests of the majority of West Virginians, killed the severance tax.

The national press has emphasized the violence which has accompanied the Widen strike in order to discredit the strikers. Actually strike violence through the years has resulted from the efforts of a few men to maintain their dictatorships in the West Virginia hills. The miners have chosen the United Mine Workers of America as the instrument by which they hope to obtain their freedom. For this they have been spied upon, sent to jail, beaten, and murdered by the political and gun-carrying henchmen of the operators. If the miners have not always answered such tactics with soft words it is not surprising.

The Widen strikers have been the victims of West Virginia's ancient and infamous Red Man Act, a "conspiracy" law aimed at people who organize to defend their rights as free citizens. Fifty-two were thrown into a tiny filthy jail at one time, then interrogated and threatened with murder charges. Four have been indicted on murder charges in connection with the killing of Charles Frame, a J. G. Bradley guard who was shot last May 7 in a picket-scab skirmish.

When Jennings Roscoe Bail was tried for the murder of Frame a jury was imported from Braxton County, and the Clay County prosecuting attorney was "aided" by lawyers who admitted in open court that they had been hired by the Elk River Coal and Lumber Company for

that purpose. Young Bail was convicted of second-degree murder. But when a miner, Delbert R. Nichols, was murdered in a pasture lot, his admitted killer was freed in the same courtroom. One of the attorneys who prosecuted Bail served also as defense attorney for this killer.

More recently Attorney General Brownell procured federal-grand-jury "conspiracy" indictments against thirty-seven of the strikers, the government compounding the farce by declaring that it was acting in the name of "civil rights"! So these sturdy hill people have discovered that in challenging the rule of J. G. Bradley they have somehow offended the Eisenhower regime in Washington.

In the last elections the miners were strong enough to elect the present governor or, more accurately, to defeat his opponent, that arch-traitor to them and their union, Rush D. Holt. In order to win the present struggle in Widen and future struggles there and elsewhere they must learn not only how to mobilize to defeat their enemies but how to combine politically to elect their friends. Only by intelligent political activity can they refute the old cry of their beloved Mother Jones:

"There is never peace in West Virginia because there is never justice. Injunctions and guns, like morphia, produce a temporary quiet. Then the pain, agonizing and more severe, comes again. . . . Medieval West Virginia! With its tent colonies on the bleak hills! With its grim men and women! When I get to the other side I shall tell God Almighty about West Virginia!"

CORRECTION: Through inadvertence some lines were dropped from the article by Charles Alan Wright in the issue of November 21. A passage on page 427 beginning, "Item: Only last June Senator William Jenner announced that he planned to discuss with Senator McCarthy 'a possible inquiry into the status of lawyers who have defended alleged Communists or former Communists,'" should have continued, "It is to Senator McCarthy's credit that he refused to make such an investigation unless it was demanded by the American Bar Association."

BOOKS

Fighting Bob

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JUNE 14, 1855-JUNE 18, 1925. By Belle Case La Follette and Fola La Follette. Two Volumes. The Macmillan Company. \$15.

By William T. Evjue

IN THE concluding lines of the funeral oration delivered over Robert Marion La Follette, Sr., in the rotunda of the Wisconsin state capitol on June 22, 1925, Dr. A. E. Haydon of the University of Chicago Divinity School said, "The old enemies against which he fought still are in the field: the causes which he championed still call for battling, heroic hearts. The future democracy of which he dreamed still is to win. . . . And here, here in his presence still, we may with bowed heads and quiet courage dedicate ourselves to that sublime and splendid task."

Dr. Haydon's words point up the chief impression one carries away from this tremendously valuable biography of a man whose dramatic life story it tells for the first time in a comprehensive way. The two-volume work is the result of more than a quarter of a century of painstaking preparation on the part of his wife, Belle Case La Follette, and his daughter Fola. Mrs. La Follette wrote the first twenty-six chapters, which carry the story up to 1910. There the narrative is taken up by Fola.

One cannot relive the turbulent and courageous life of this great champion of American democracy without realizing that we must make much the same fight today, when once again the massive evil of special privilege has gained the citadel of government and is assaulting the American heritage with its weapons of hysteria and intolerance. The life of La Follette is a superb study of how fear and bigotry were used to mask the plundering and profiteering against which he fought. Then the charge was "radicalism," "socialism," and "pro-

Germanism." Today it is "communism," used in the same way by the forces of McCarthyism to distract attention from the colossal swindle of the tidelands-oil deal and the other raids upon the public domain now preparing in Washington.

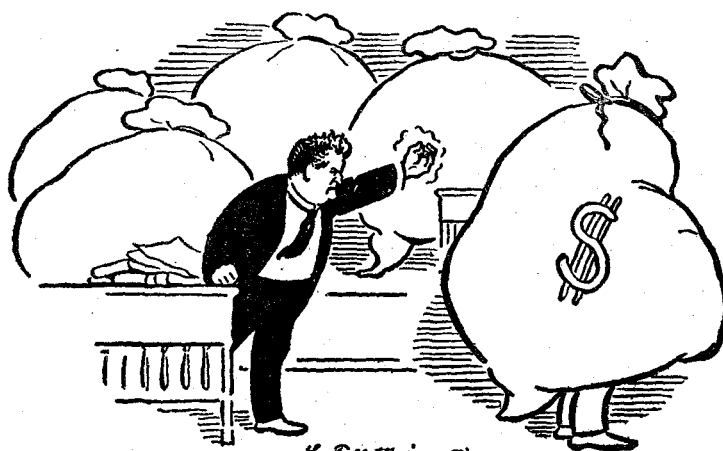
One wonders how La Follette would fare in the present struggle to give democracy greater vitality and purpose. Certainly, one cannot come away from this biography without a deep respect for his ability. Perhaps no one in our history, with so little official political power ever achieved so much. He lived to see most of the planks of the minority platforms his Wisconsin delegations presented at the national conventions—only to have them rejected as "socialism"—become the law of the land.

In Wisconsin, where he wielded a power he never had nationally, he wrought reforms which gained the state the reputation of being the "ideal commonwealth." These were not battles easily won. Mrs. La Follette recounts his fight to achieve justice in railroad rates. The railroads accused him of telling only part of the story in the examples he used to expose their methods. His answer was to prepare a study of the rates charged by the two principal railroads in the state, listing every station in Wisconsin and comparing the rates between them and their markets with corresponding rates in Iowa and Illinois.

At a special session of the legislature he presented an incontrovertible argument based on this study that made a book of 181 pages. This was typical of his thoroughness in getting the facts to back his positions. Is there a place for such truth-seeking today when the hucksters of TV and radio give a man like Richard Nixon complete laundry service with the frothy suds of soap opera, and when representatives of the big New York public-relations firms take over the White House prior to a Presidential report to the nation?

LA FOLLETTE never lost his faith in facts and in the ability of people to understand them. The biography deals in detail with the proceedings on bill after bill in the Senate in which he took part. Because he came with the facts and insisted that opposing Senators do the same, they feared and hated him. Wisconsin's most recent contribution to legislative debate is the exposition of how a Senator can exploit the immunity bestowed by his office to slander his fellow-citizens.

Before the atmosphere of hate and resentment in the Senate, La Follette never flinched. He used all his great talents as a debater against the plundering of the big-business interests which dominated his party. And when the session was over, he hit the hot, dusty Chautauqua trail to explain the issues and to read the roll calls on Senators, some of whom did not return to Washington thereafter. He would never allow the rules of senatorial courtesy to draw him into a conspiracy against the interests of the people, as was the case with so many Senators. When he made a



Drawing by Art Young
Reproduced from his autobiography "On My Way"

WILLIAM T. EVJUE is editor of the Capital Times of Madison, Wisconsin.

speech in another state he often discomfited some fellow-Senator who out of courtesy and a desire to appear before one of his crowds had introduced him.

THE HOSTILITY built up in these years came to a climax in the ordeal that he suffered in World War I. American history may never record another instance in which one man became the target of so much abuse and slander. In the hysteria engendered by the super-patriots of the day his oldest and dearest friends left him and joined in the cries of "disloyalty" and "treason." Men who owed their positions to him, including many faculty members of the University of Wisconsin whose interests he had always championed, used their prestige and power to blacken his name. The legislature branded him disloyal. The newspapers lied about him. For eight months the Associated Press refused to correct a report of his speech in St. Paul in which he was quoted as having said that "we had no grievances against Germany," when, as the A. P. later acknowledged, he had actually said we *did* have grievances. This misquotation was an important part of the charges brought to expel him from the Senate.

La Follette had supported and sponsored some sixty measures to back the war effort once the nation was involved, but this was never mentioned by those who vilified him as a traitor. Against the raging storm of hysteria he fought his battle during the day and at night went home to keep vigil at the bedside of Bob, Jr., who was close to death with a serious illness. The illness of his son sapped his income, and only through the help of a few loyal friends was a mortgage foreclosure on his beloved farm home at Madison avoided. It is one of the proudest memories of my life that as a member of the Wisconsin Assembly I led the fight against the resolution of censure passed against him at a time when he stood almost alone in defense of the democratic ideals for which we were presumed to be fighting.

La Follette won his vindication after the hysteria had abated. In 1922 he was reelected by the biggest vote ever received up to that time by any candidate in Wisconsin. And after he had come home from Washington for the last time, the legislature, the board of regents of the university, the alumni association,

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THE BEACON PRESS

Beacon Hill, Boston

December 19, 1953

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and many other groups passed resolutions honoring his great service to the state and nation.

The present biography is not concerned simply with his public life. In a tender and moving narrative it depicts the warm human qualities of the man—a man who could find time at a particularly critical moment in the affairs of the Senate to write to a Madison veterinary to plead with him to save one of his beloved horses which had become ill. But most notable is the picture of his deep and everlasting devotion to his family. One wonders how he ever found the time to write the letters he did to members of the family—letters scribbled in his own handwriting, full of love and humor.

SINCE THIS remarkable biography was written by members of his family, the historian may approach it with some reservations about its objectivity. But there is much evidence to show that no effort has been made to represent him as infallible. The material, taken from newspapers, books, magazines, Congressional and legislative records, personal interviews, and letters; gives the case against him as well as for him. His unusual and rather shameful personal attack on Senator Kellogg, one of those who led the expulsion movement against him, is set forth with the notation that Mrs. La Follette was critical of his conduct in that instance. Commenting on her husband's failure to support Lieutenant Governor Davidson for governor against Irvine Lenroot, Mrs. La Follette wrote, "Bob is perhaps justly criticized for having encouraged Davidson to run for lieutenant governor if he questioned his capacity to lead the Wisconsin movement independently. I would not claim that in meeting the exigencies of politics Bob was always consistent."

Because it was written by members of his family, the La Follette biography has a beauty and warmth it might not otherwise have had. This is illustrated in the letter of Fola to a friend describing the old Senator's death. "He went to sleep," she wrote, "and we shall not hear his voice again—strangely that was the thought that came to each one of us when dear Dr. Marbury looked up and signed to us that all our yearning and love could do no more for him. The transition was so gentle and un-

troubled that, though he had his hand on Daddy's pulse, Dr. Marbury could not be certain it had come until he listened with the stethoscope. We kissed his brow in silence and turned to Mother—and she gave us of her strength, speaking of how Daddy had loved life and found it good. And from this thought it seemed as if everything flowed. Through all the hours and days that followed each

one gathered strength and courage from the other."

After his death they found among his papers a note scribbled in pencil which is photostatically reproduced at the end of the last chapter. It read: "I would be remembered as one who in the world's darkest hour kept a clean conscience and stood to the end for the ideals of American democracy."

The New Revisionists

PERPETUAL WAR FOR PERPETUAL PEACE. Edited by Harry Elmer Barnes. The Caxton Printers. \$6.

By D. F. Fleming

AFTER World War I, Harry Elmer Barnes was the most extreme of the revisionist historians who corrected our perspective on the origins of that conflict, though they did not reverse our war-time judgments as completely as Barnes believes. Aided by Senator Nye and other politicians, they did convince us for a time that our part in the war had been a mistake.

This book is an attempt by a new school of revisionists, again led by Barnes, to do the same thing for World War II, though they have little hope of success. Barnes says that only two or three small publishers will publish their books, which are mainly ignored but occasionally reviewed by "hatchet men" assigned for the purpose, and that they do not get into the libraries. Only some "devastating . . . disaster" will cause us to turn to the current revisionists. This volume is their attempt to have their case ready for espousal when and if the time comes. It is a symposium condensing the previous works of eight revisionists.

They look tolerantly upon Hitler's efforts to disregard what they think was the iniquitous treaty of Versailles after World War I, upon Mussolini's conquest of Ethiopia, and upon Japan's conquest of China. The last phase of the "China incident" was precipitated, it is suggested, by a Chinese attack upon

D. F. FLEMING, professor of political science at Vanderbilt University, is the author of *"The United States and the World Court"* and other books.

Japanese troops near Peking on July 7, 1937, since a Chinese attaché in Tokyo had been "truculent" toward Japan in talking to one of our officials there a few days before the Peking clash.

The authors disagree about President Roosevelt's role in the 1938 Munich crisis. Frederic R. Sanborn thinks he issued his peace messages because he feared British and French air power was too weak, but Charles C. Tansill and Barnes agree that Roosevelt exerted pressure for peace in 1938, and for resistance in 1939, because "he did not want any war to start in Europe which might terminate so rapidly that the United States could not enter it." It was, they assert, "his purpose to conquer Germany."

These charges illustrate the bitterness of the attack upon Roosevelt. Succeeding chapters produce impressive evidence that his Administration made secret war plans with the British, armed rapidly, took a long series of steps toward hostilities with Germany, applied increasingly effective economic pressure upon Japan, and was finally negligent in warning the Pearl Harbor commanders of Japan's impending attack. It is charged that F. D. R. cleverly drove Japan to attack us because 80 per cent of our people were for holding him to his anti-war pledges, "unless attacked."

This story omits two things: (1) our deep and constantly increasing conviction that Hitler and his racists must not be permitted to conquer the Old World; and (2) the steadily rising aversion among us to buying peace with Japan by permitting it to control China. We were revolted by the rapacity of both the German and the Japanese empire, and we rightly feared being boxed in by them. That we now face new threats

does not mean that we were wrong in disposing of those threats.

The revisionist case deserves to be heard, and we can learn something from this statement of it, but its advocates will not save us from destruction in a third world war by attacking our part in the last one. What is required is swift realization by all of us that atomic weapons have made these ever more

destructive wars obsolete, that we are in a completely new situation in which none of the old remedies will prevent our destruction.

If the revisionists will turn their fire upon today's rapid drift toward the death of Western civilization, they may help us avoid the "one more war" after which there would be nothing left worth arguing about.

New Books in Brief

Mathematics as Knowing

MATHEMATICS IN WESTERN CULTURE. By Morris Kline. Oxford. \$7.50.

An unusually successful attempt to explain to the unmathematical what mathematics is about. Though it might be said to cover much the same field as Hogben's "Mathematics for the Million," two books could hardly be more different in emphasis or in point of view. To Hogben mathematics is primarily a tool; it has no existence aside from its methods and no importance except as an aid to doing. Professor Kline, on the other hand, is concerned more with knowing than with doing and often takes the reader into the realm where metaphysics and mathematics merge. There are excellent chapters on the new geometries and their relation to the Einsteinian universe, and there are others on the meaning of statistics and probability. Most original of all perhaps is the discussion of some of the newer attitudes toward the problem of determinism versus chance. The book is not for the too casual reader but is quite comprehensible without much preliminary knowledge of mathematical techniques.

The Kidney Through the Ages

FROM FISH TO PHILOSOPHER. By Homer W. Smith. Little, Brown. \$4.

This seems a rather flippantly misleading title for a book which, though written for the layman, deals in more or less technical terms with the story of evolution from the viewpoint of a physiologist specializing in the functions of the renal system. "The Kidney Through the Ages" would no doubt be a worse title, but it would at least suggest what the book is about.

A Classic Document

THE JOURNALS OF LEWIS AND CLARK. Edited by Bernard DeVoto. Houghton Mifflin. \$6.50.

The expedition of Lewis and Clark ranks high among the most momentous events in our history. As Mr. DeVoto says in his introduction to this volume, "It gave not only Oregon but the entire West to the American people as something with which the mind could deal." However, the journal of the two explorers, a truly classic document, has remained surprisingly inaccessible. The authoritative Thwaites edition of 1904-05 is not only rare and costly but extends to seven volumes of text and one of maps. It is a veritable buffalo of a book, a feast for hungry scholars, but altogether too Gargantuan a meal for the general reader. With the growing in-

terest in the American past something more digestible was badly needed. We should be grateful therefore to Mr. DeVoto for the skill with which he has reduced the journals, not to pemmican, but to a well-trimmed roast that retains all the flavor of the original.

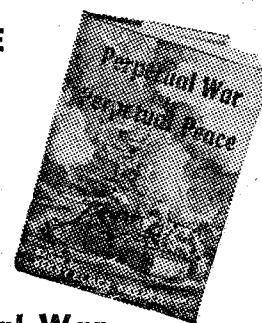
Enthralling History

THE TRAITOR AND THE SPY. By James Thomas Flexner. Harcourt, Brace. \$5.75.

In *The Nation* of December 5, 1953, Van Wyck Brooks remarked that "historical writing in this country has virtually dropped out of literature." All too often scholars appear to be solely concerned with communicating with other scholars, and as a result the general reader is thrown into the arms of popular writers who strain themselves to be entertaining while neglecting their homework. It is a pleasure, therefore, to hail this book, an enthralling narrative that never condescends to the reader. Dealing with one of the most familiar episodes in our history, the treason of Benedict Arnold, Mr. Flexner has not only rechecked the source material used by pre-

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vious writers but has dug out other contemporary data, including hitherto unknown documents belonging to the André family that throw new light on the character of the unfortunate major.

Inevitably, though, the traitor rather than the spy is the central figure in the drama, and the author, while not mitigating Arnold's crime, helps us to understand it. Clearly his motive was not ideological except in the sense that he saw himself the victim of democratic incompetence and ingratitude. A brave and able soldier, Arnold was quarrelsome, supremely egotistical, and greedy of fame and fortune. His decision to sell out sprang from thwarted ambition and the need for money to maintain himself in the style he felt his due. Moreover, he was egged on and abetted by Peggy Shippen, his young, socially ambitious wife who, this book makes clear, little deserved the sympathy she received at the time and even from some later historians.

Glamorous Ghost Towns

THE BONANZA TRAIL. By Muriel Sibell Wolle. Indiana University Press. \$8.50.

An excellent guide to the ghost towns and mining camps of twelve western states. Mrs. Wolle, head of the Department of Fine Arts at the University of Colorado, is an enthusiast who has personally visited hundreds of them after soaking herself in their history and legends. She reports succinctly on their past glories and present states of decay.



To readers willing to drive over rough back roads—or even get out and walk—to see for themselves these relics of a vanishing America, the author offers maps and ample directions. Armchair travelers will find that Mrs. Wolle's many drawings convey most successfully both the grimness and the glamour of her subject.

Terror and Satire

FAHRENHEIT 451. By Ray Bradbury. Ballantine Books. Hardbound, \$2.50; paper, 35 cents.

This horror tale of American life in the near future should be ranked among the best novelettes of the year. *Fahrenheit 451* is "the temperature at which book-paper catches fire, and burns." The

hero is a melancholy "fireman"—the Hamlet of an asbestos Utopia who begins to question the whole rationale of book-burning among the miracles of applied science. His wife is completely satisfied, or at least stupefied, by her "family" on the three-wall television, which now speaks to her personally at only a small extra cost. The firemen are hardly necessary at all since people only want to be "happy." The electronic hound can easily track down the occasional dissenters and fanatics who still cherish the written word, while the jet bombers thunder overhead and the nation is mobilized and demobilized for the three-minute wars. The action of the story begins here; the result is one of the most brilliant over-all jobs of social satire to appear recently.

Theater

Harold Clurman

WE ARE terribly earthbound. And the earth to which we are bound today is not always pleasant to contemplate. Though we fear departures from this burdensome earth we long desperately for release. This need for release takes several forms in the theater. One of them is an occasional flirtation with fantasy and fairy tale. What we like most and cordially welcome in Sidney Howard's "Madam, Will You Walk" (Phoenix Theater) is this flirtation.

It so happens that the production of this play is a departure in more than one sense. The Phoenix Theater is located in the professionally unlikely neighborhood of Twelfth Street and Second Avenue, its top price is \$3, and it is committed to a program of unusual plays. These are virtues in themselves—and the Phoenix represents a drive that deserves support.

The first production—in which Hume Cronyn and Jessica Tandy are starred—is encouraging. I will not quibble, as others may more or less justifiably do, with some of the casting. The production is of uneven merit both in conception and execution, but the whole is sensible and certainly competent. The main point is that the play was worth doing and nothing in its production really impairs our enjoyment of it.

If we think of "Madam, Will You Walk" in terms of its social background both at the time of its composition—around 1939—and the present, we may find an additional interest in it. For the late thirties—after the fall of Madrid—was a period in which both the tremors and the fervors of the early thirties had become dissipated, and we were confused by an economic situation which was neither depression nor prosperity and a moral atmosphere which was neither revolutionary nor comfortably secure. We were standing still and were not at all sure of where we stood or where we were headed. We were suffering from what might be described as hysterical timidity.

Sidney Howard wrote "Madam, Will You Walk" at that time as a kind of comedic call to courage. We were losing our sense of adventure, even of fun. Without the aid of any systematic coercion we were growing hesitant about all forthrightness of feeling, of conviction, of anything that might be regarded as eccentricity. The Devil in Howard's play (named Dr. Brightlee) summons us to dream, to inquire, to take chances, and to recover the joy of life with all the dangers which that inevitably implies. Howard became the "devil's" advocate,

but the Devil in his play is a liberating force, an activating spirit, a rebel against complacency, palsied conservatism, and every form of inertia. The Devil is God's chief arm, urging us to live a full life for the greater glory of all creation. Such a "devil" today is assuredly a heaven-sent messenger.

"Madam, Will You Walk" is literate and frequently funny. It has a certain amiable impishness. It attempts to fly with good-humored agility. If it is not everything it should be, it is because the author's effort is more wilful than spontaneous, the writing more intelligent than winged. The actual incidents of the plot are somewhat trite—earthbound again!—and the whole rather more a flirtation with fantasy than a real affair. What the play needed was either the sparkle of a Shaw or the sprightly imagination and language of a Giraudoux. But need we reject "Madam, Will You Walk" because it is not the equal of "The Madwoman of Chaillot"? Certainly not. I found Howard's play far more engaging than most of the smash hits of the season.

I LIKED "Kismet" too. This is the "musical Arabian night" (at the Ziegfeld) made from Edward Knoblock's play in which that grand old actor Otis Skinner delighted the town in 1911.

One might become severe with several aspects of this musical, but to do so is to take the theater "seriously" in a way not entirely beneficial to it. The fact is that the Arabian-night aspect of Knoblock's play is perfect musical-comedy material; the Borodin "Prince Igor" score which is used—and probably abused—can't be spoiled under any circumstances; and there is a generous supply of people, color, and special numbers.

Alfred Drake seems to me to have developed—vocally and histrionically—and to have become an excellent performer in this production. Doretta Morrow and Joan Diener are nice to look at and to listen to. Jack Cole has devised some lively dance routines, particularly those involving the Princesses of Ababu—Patricia Dune, Bonnie Evans, and Reiko Sato—who are invigoratingly cute. Beatrice Kraft does a semi-Hindu bit that is rhythmically and visually piquant, while other players act effectively under Albert Moore's pleasant direction.

Outstanding Records of 1953

B. H. Haggin

The following are outstanding among LP records of the past year (RCA Victor: V; Columbia: C; London: L; Haydn Society: HS; Urania: U; Vanguard: VA; Bach Guild: BG; Bartok: B):

Bach: Chorale Preludes for organ; Schweitzer (C ML-4601); Videro (HS). Clavierübung Part 3 for organ; Callaway (HS 3060/1; recording unclear). Italian Concerto; Kirkpatrick (HS 3059; with less interesting pieces). "Goldberg" Variations; Kirkpatrick (HS 3062). Cantata No. 146 "Wir müssen durch viel Trübsal"; Viennese musicians under Prohaska (BG).

Banchieri: "Festino"; Primavera Singers under Greenberg, and Winogron (Esoteric).

Beethoven: Piano Sonatas Opp. 109, 111; Schnabel (V; with other sonatas). Perpignan Festival performances of Trios Op. 97 ("Archduke") (C ML-4574), Op. 1 No. 2 (4573), Op. 70 No. 2 (4571; with uninteresting Op. 11); Casals, Schneider, Istomin. String Quartets; Budapest Quartet (C; poorly recorded). Sonatas for cello and piano Opp. 69 and 102; Fournier and Schnabel (V). Symphonies Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6 ("Pastoral"), 7, 8; Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V; No. 4 defectively reproduced). Septet; Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V). Piano Sonatas Opp. 106 ("Hammerklavier") and 53 ("Waldstein"); Solomon (performances lacking in power) (V). Piano Sonata Op. 57 ("Appassionata"); Schioler (V; with Liszt Concerto). Quartets Op. 18 Nos. 1 and 2; Paganini Quartet (V).

Berlioz: "Romeo and Juliet"; Munch conducting Boston Symphony, etc. (poor performance) (V). Funeral March for "Hamlet"; three pieces from "The Damnation of Faust"; Sebastian and Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra (U; with Franck's "Redemption").

Brahms: Variations on a Theme of Haydn; Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V; with Elgar's "Enigma" Variations).

Bull: "In Nomine" and other early English keyboard pieces; Geraint Jones and Elizabeth Goble (L). Pavana and other English keyboard pieces; Charles Koenig (EMS).

Chopin: Sonata Op. 58 and other pieces; Lipatti (C). Concerto No. 1; Sandor and Philadelphia Orchestra (C). 24 Preludes; Gulda (L).

Copland: "Rodeo"; Ballet Theater Orchestra under Levine (Capitol; with Bernstein's "Fancy Free"). Suite from "Appalachian Spring"; Rother and Berlin Radio Symphony (U; with Piston's Suite from "The Invisible Flutist").

Delius: "Brigg Fair," "The Walk to the Paradise Garden," other pieces; Collins and London Symphony (L).

Dvorak: Slavonic Dances; Talich and Czech Philharmonic (U).

Farnaby: Canzonets, sung by the Oriana Singers under Hobbs, and pieces for virginals, played by Winogron (EMS).

Handel: "Israel in Egypt"; Koch and Berlin Symphony etc. (BG). Sonatas Op. 1 for violin and figured bass; Campoli and Malcolm (L).

Haydn: String Quartets Op. 20; Schneider Quartet (HS).

Janacek: Slavonic Mass; Bakala and Brno Radio Symphony etc. (U).

Mahler: "Das Lied von der Erde"; Bruno Walter with Vienna Philharmonic, Ferrier, and Patzak (voice too old) (L). Symphony No. 1; Borsamsky and Radio Berlin Symphony (U better than VA).

Mendelssohn: "Scotch" Symphony; Solti and London Symphony (L).

Mozart: Perpignan Festival performances, with Casals conducting, of Piano Concertos K. 271 (Hess), K. 449 (Istomin), 482 (Serkin; feeble in first movement), and 595 (Horszowski; too delicate in first two movements), and Flute Concerto K. 313 (Wummer) (C). Violin Concertos K. 216 and 218; Gerard Poulet with Austrian Symphony under Gaston Poulet (R; with poor performance of Handel's "Water Music" and good performances of Mozart overtures conducted by Koslik). String Quartets K. 387, 421, 428, 458, 464, 465; Budapest Quartet (C; recorded sound not good). "Cosi Fan Tutte"; Glyndebourne Festival (V; imperfectly dubbed from 78 rpm). Symphony K. 201; Möldike and Danish State Radio Chamber Orchestra (HS; with Symphony K. 183). Piano Sonata K. 310; Lipatti (C).

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with Bach's Partita No. 1 and other pieces).

Musorgsky-Ravel: "Pictures at an Exhibition"; Cantelli and NBC Symphony (V; with Tchaikovsky's "Romeo and Juliet").

Prokofiev: Symphony No. 5; Tuxen and Danish State Radio Symphony (L).

Purcell: Pavan and Chacony; New Music Quartet (B; with less interesting pieces by Gibbons and Locke).

Rossini: "The Barber of Seville"; de los Angeles and others under Serafin (V).

Scarlatti: 6 Sonatas; Casadesus (C; with Rameau pieces).

Schubert: Impromptus Opp. 90 and 142; Schnabel (V). Impromptus Op. 142;

Curzon (L). "Die Winterreise"; Schmitt-Walter and Giesen (L). Songs; Souzay (L).

Smetana: "The Bartered Bride"; Prague National Theater (U).

Strauss: Songs; Poell and Felbermayer (VA).

Stravinsky: "Oedipus Rex"; Stravinsky conducting orchestra and chorus of Cologne Radio etc. (C). "Pulcinella" Suite; Rother and Berlin Radio Symphony (U; with Respighi's Suite No. 3 of Old Airs and Dances for the Lute).

Tchaikovsky: "The Sleeping Beauty" (with cuts); Fistoulari and Paris Conservatory Concerts Orchestra (some poor tempos) (L). Theme and Variations from Suite No. 3; Schuricht and same orchestra (L; with Capriccio Italien). Piano Concerto No. 2; Pinter (unimposing) with Radio Berlin Symphony under Rother (U).

Verdi: "Otello"; Toscanini with NBC Symphony, etc. (V). "Il Trovatore"; Milanov, Bjoerling, Warren, etc. (V). "Aida"; Tebaldi, Stignani, etc. (Del Monaco very bad) (L).

Vivaldi: Concerto Op. 3 No. 8 and other pieces, some not interesting; Società Corelli (V). Concerto in E minor for cello (with Couperin Pièces en concert and the spurious Boccherini Concerto in B flat); Fournier with Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Münchinger (L).

Miscellaneous: "Pops" numbers—Dance of the Hours from "La Gioconda," Overtures to "Zampa," "Mignon," "Hänsel und Gretel," Suite from "Carmen," etc.—played by Toscanini and NBC Symphony (V; some defectively reproduced). Danco Recital of Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Music (L). Corena performances in Famous Operatic Excerpts Volume 2 (L). Canzone Scordate sung by Souzay (L). A Tribute to Lotte Lehman (V). Mozart and Verdi arias sung by Pinza (V). Philadelphia Orchestra "First Chair" (C). Vocal music from the court of Ferdinand and Isabella; Pro Musica Antiqua (EMS). Elizabeth love songs and instrumental pieces sung by Cuenod and played by Chiasson (Lyrichord). Songs from Kern's "Roberta" (C). "Bix" Beiderbecke (C GL-507/8).

[Continued from inside front cover]

cal study. I am well aware that Dr. Fung does not mention Tantric and Syncretic Buddhism—that was the point. I do not think the particular system, or lack of it, of romanization that I used at all important. There exist an indefinite number to choose from. Certainly there is no doubt about whom I meant—although I myself prefer Tzu to Tse.

I used "inner light" to convey within the limited space some idea to the general reader of what Ch'an Buddhism stood for. I know it does not occur in Derk Bodde's translation. I am willing to grant that "most authorities" is a rash statement. But the nature of the community which produced the Tao Te Ching is certainly the point of dispute. I could even have pointed out that there exist those who believe it a collection of cryptic psalms of an erotic mystic cult. I am also aware that American academic circles ignore, perhaps very justly, such speculations.

The real point at issue is, systems of romanization aside, whether Fung Yulan is a safe guide for the uninformed reader. I should say he is about as objective a historian of philosophy as Bertrand Russell or Hegel. I hold no brief for Fr. Wieger, let alone Lin Yutang. I am certainly well aware that he has no academic standing whatever outside his own world. But, again, that is just the point. It is impossible to fit Chinese philosophy into the frame of Jesuit neo-scholasticism. It is very easy to envelop it in the general atmosphere of twentieth-century philosophy and, so doing, subtly blur and distort its outlines. Fr. Wieger was a deliberate choice. I knew very well how provocative his name would be.

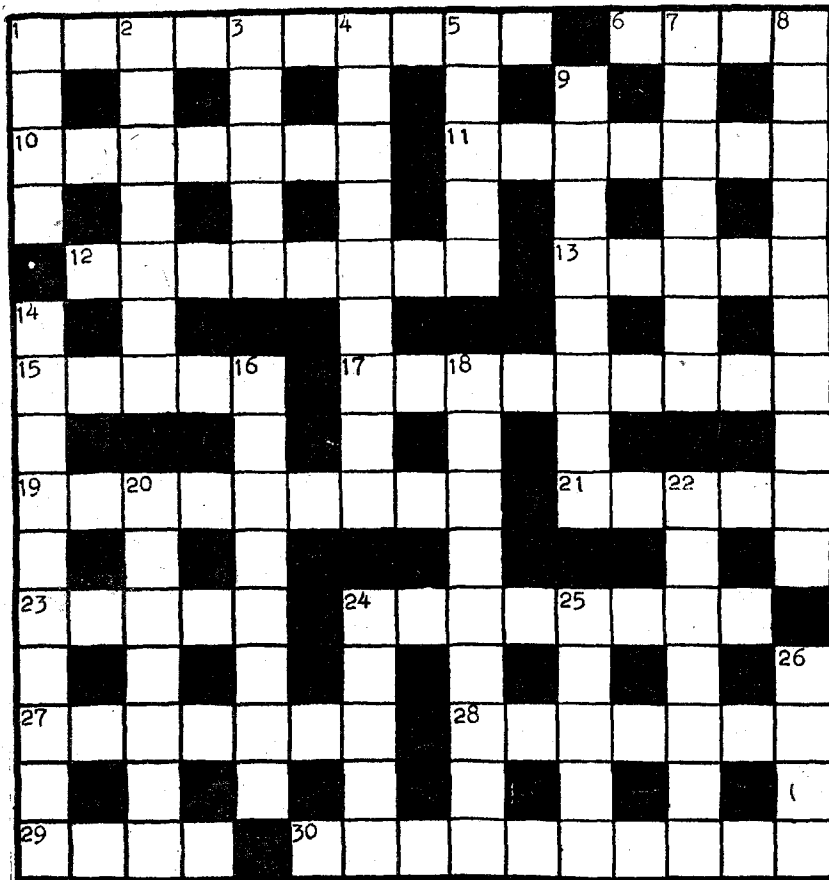
In conclusion, it is amusing that Derk Bodde should think I had not read the book, or had read it carelessly. I still consider Fung Yu-lan conservative as regards the documents. Perhaps what we need, as I said before, is an anthropological approach to the subject—something like the work of Marcel Granet, another provoking name. I assure Derk Bodde that I found the book intensely interesting, even entertaining, and I think his translation excellent. I cannot recommend it too strongly, always with the proviso that it is a history of philosophy by a philosopher. Of course, like Ezra Pound, I am utterly without academic standing.

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Crossword Puzzle No. 546

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 and 6. The wife of one who joins part of the crew? (10, 4)
- 10 Do rates change the way you like some foods? (7)
- 11 See 15 across.
- 12 Irradiated pledge exposed to the other side. (8)
- 13 The writer of 7 when the article is rejected. (5)
- 15 and 11. It seems to be rising fair. (2, 3, 2, 3, 2)
- 17 The last part makes you mad, and gets you in trouble. (9)
- 19 Why a midget has to reach for weapons? (5, 4)
- 21 A burning passion? (5)
- 23 Black molasses. (5)
- 24 See 20 down.
- 27 Nothingness. (7)
- 28 It starts out as though it might be pretty backward, yet almost has a conclusive triumph. (7)
- 29 Just the bird to make a profit, by the sound of it. (4)
- 30 Carry a plot where they used to worry. (4, 6)

DOWN

- 1 Find fault with sea food? (4)
- 2 Torn in time? Quite the opposite! (7)
- 3 Formed by removing water from trees. (5)

- 4 Several hundred more than 12, with Edward of 30, perhaps. (5, 4)
- 5 A few shots for 19, for a song, perhaps. (5)
- 7 And put up a "slow" sign! (7)
- 8 Revealing something no longer important? (10)
- 9 With gay spots, perhaps, the orchestra should get a little money! (8)
- 14 Shores seen vaguely, not as common as the synonym implies. (5, 5)
- 16 Sort of lies around what might tell them, sometimes indicated by * * *. (8)
- 18 Ship exemplified by Siva. (9)
- 20 and 24 across. April? (5, 2, 8)
- 22 29, for example, braised, but not necessarily 10! (3, 4)
- 24 Some things are in his favor. (5)
- 25 Extreme in painful transactions. (5)
- 26 This should be a sign that Verne's captain will return. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 545

ACROSS:—1 EMULSIFY; 5 and 14 JUDGE'S CHAMBERS; 9 PASS OUT; 10 UCCELLO; 11 SCRAPER; 12 DOUSING; 13 PUT UP OR SHUT UP; 15 HEARTBREAKING; 21 MUSETTE; 22 RESTORE; 23 ENTRANT; 24 AT LARGE; 25 SHANSI; 26 BESSEMER.
DOWN:—1 EXPOSE; 2 UNSTRAP; 3 SHOT-PUT; 4 FUTURE PERFECT; 6 UNCOUTH; 7 GALLIOT; 8 STOPGAPS; 10 UNDERCARRIAGE; 16 ALSATIA; 17 TETRAIDS; 18 IN-SOLES; 19 GROGRAM; 20 VENEER.

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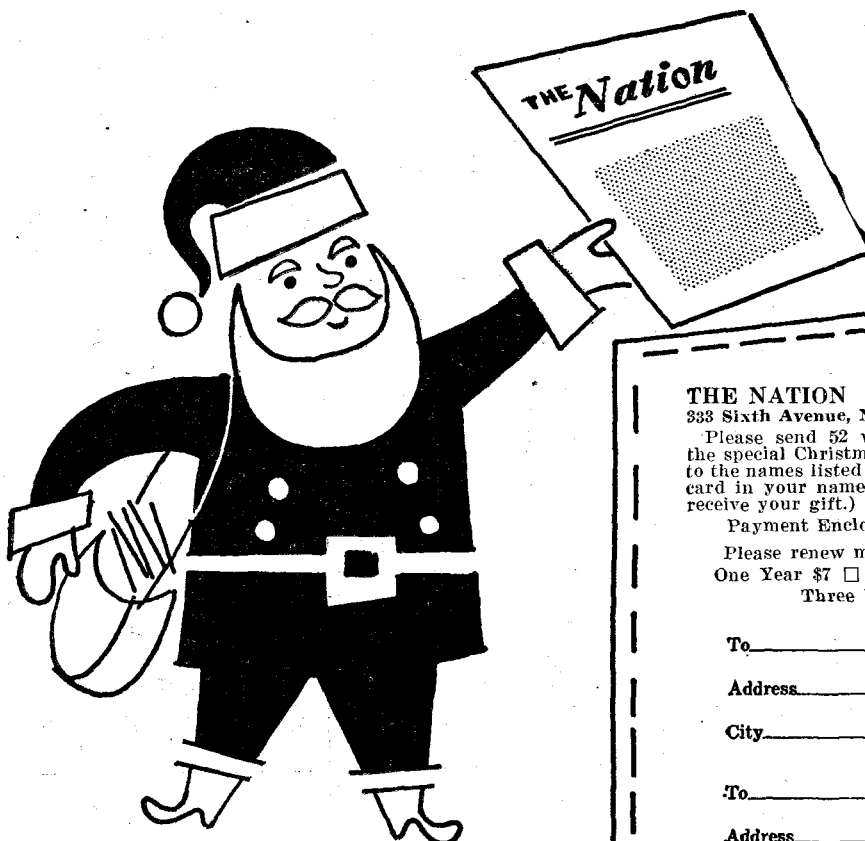
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